The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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Peace with Russia

By John Foster Dulles

The Catholic Case for Tax-Supported Parochial Schools

A Review of Father Parsons' 'The First Freedom'

By W. E. Garrison

Spearhead for Islam

By Robert Root

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In This Issue

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

has probably taken a more prominent role in relating the work of the churches to the pursuit of lasting peace than any other American layman. Senior partner in New York's premier law firm, Mr. Dulles served as chairman of the commission on a just and lasting peace of the Federal Council of Churches, and as such was at the forefront of the Delaware and Cleveland conferences. He served as a member of the U.S. delegation to the San Francisco conference where the charter of the United Nations was written, as adviser to American secretaries of state at conferences of foreign ministers in Moscow, Paris and London, as a member of the U.S. delegation to the Assembly of the U.N. and will again serve as an American delegate to the U.N. Assembly meeting in Paris next month. The importance of his position as chief advisor on foreign affairs to Governor Dewey makes every word he writes at present on international problems of world importance. Mr. Dulles' article is an excerpt from a long report on "The Christian Citizen in a Changing World" which he is making to the Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam.

ROBERT ROOT

until recently Geneva correspondent of The Christian Century, is writing a series of articles reflecting conditions he discovers in various countries visited as he makes his leisurely way eastward home to America. So far as known, his article in this issue presents the first extended account in any American periodical of one of the most important, and potentially dangerous, developments in today's tense Arabic world.

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August 25, 1948

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Calendar of Coming Events

July 4 - Aug. 29. Chautauqua Assembly's Department of Religion, Chautauqua, N.Y.
Aug. 16-26. American Christian Ashram (Federal Council Department of Evangelism), Camp Sierra, Calif.
Aug. 16-28. United Christian Youth Movement Midwest Conference, Lake Geneva, Wis.
Aug. 18-Sept. 14. International Study Conference on Women and World Reconstruction (Y.W.C.A.), New York City.
Aug. 20-30. Northern Baptist Convention National Conference on Religious Music, Art and Drama, Green Lake, Wis.
Aug. 22-27. Chautauqua Assembly's Institute of World Missions, Chautauqua, N.Y.
Aug. 22-28. School of Leadership Education (New York State Council of Churches), Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, N.Y.
Aug. 22-29. A.F.S.C. High School Institute of International Relations, Milford, Ind.
Aug. 22-29. Midwest Unitarian Assembly, Lake Geneva, Wis.
Aug. 22-29. Northern New England School of Religious Education, Durham, N.H.
Aug. 23-27. Fellowship of Southern Churchmen's Annual Summer Conference, Lincoln Academy, Kings Mountain, N.C.
Aug. 23-27. National Lutheran Council Student Service Commission, Interlochen, Mich.
Aug. 24-29. Fellowship of Reconciliation Annual Conference, Pocono Pines, Pa.
Aug. 25-Sept. 2. A.F.S.C. High School Institute of International Relations, Harvard, Mass.
Aug. 26-29. All-Lutheran Youth Institute, Valparaiso, Ind.
Aug. 27-Sept. 3. A.F.S.C. High School Institute of International Relations, Medford, N.J.
Aug. 27-Sept. 4. World Council of Churches First General Assembly, Amsterdam.
Aug. 30-Sept. 5. Lutheran Student Association of America Ashram, Interlochen, Mich.
Aug. 30-Sept. 6. Northern Baptist Convention General Bible Conference, Green Lake, Wis.
Aug. 31-Sept. 5. Fellowship of Reconciliation Annual Conference, Estes Park, Colo.
Aug. 31-Sept 5. Christian Youth Conference of North America, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Sept. 6-11. Fifth International Workshop in Audio-Visual Education, Green Lake, Wis.
Sept. 8-9. National Conference of the Brotherhood of St. Luke (Methodist), Hamilton Ohio.
Sept. 8-10. International Missionary Council, Oegstgeest, Holland.
Sept. 14-15. 31st Annual Pastors' Conference, Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford, Conn. Theme: "The Ecumenical Movement."
Sept. 18-19. Executive Committee, the Brotherhood of the Evangelical United Brethren Church, Lincoln, Neb.
Sept. 20-24. National Lutheran Council Semiannual Staff Meetings, Chicago.
Sept. 21-28. United Church of Canada General Council, Vancouver, B.C.
Sept. 25-30. Disciples of Christ International Convention, San Francisco.
Oct. 5-7. Universalist Church of America Conference on "The Faith of Universalism," Pocono Pines, Pa.
Oct. 6-14. United Lutheran Church 16th Biennial Convention, Philadelphia.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

As We Go To Press —

Let Amsterdam Know!

THE FIRST General Assembly of the World Council of Churches opened in Amsterdam, Holland, on Sunday (Aug. 22). It will continue in session until Sept. 4. Will this unprecedented gathering of Christians rise to great heights of ecumenical statesmanship? Or will it plod along the lowlands of timidity and routine? The answer may be influenced by the extent to which the delegates at Amsterdam feel active support from expectant churches at home. If 10,000 American congregations should cable the World Council their hopes and prayers for an outcome that would compel world attention and arouse the churches to a revived sense of mission, the delegates at Amsterdam would gain a new sense of being at the forefront of a great enterprise which has tremendous resources for attempting the prodigious. A few dollars invested in such a cable now might help to yield great dividends in Christian leadership before the Assembly adjourns.

Congress Goes Home

QUICK adjournment of the special session of Congress has been followed, as was to be expected, by mutual recriminations. President Truman excoriates the Republican majority in the legislative branch for having done nothing to keep down prices or provide low cost housing; congressmen reply that the President's program was a political trick, not intended for actual enactment, and that congressional action was hamstrung by the southern revolt against civil rights legislation. Adjournment seemed, at the end of the first week in August, a dramatic way to show Congress' contempt for the President's leadership. By November, however, Mr. Truman's complaints against Republican inaction may, with the assistance of rising prices and a short public memory, make an effective campaign argument.

Moscow Talks Continue

MR. MOLOTOV continues to discuss with the American, British and French representatives in Moscow the issues in the German crisis. Because the discussions have been prolonged without any agreement being announced, the press is forecasting eventual failure. However, continued negotiation can be taken as a good sign. While there is talk, there is hope. Russia is in such a favorable bargaining position that she is unlikely to agree to any future policy for governing all Germany which the A-B-F nations can accept without loss of face. As Mr. Lippmann has pointed out, the western allies lost their last chance to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union that would not have involved losing face when they ordered the reluctant German officials in the western zones to go ahead with the forming of a centralized West Germany. If Russia is insisting on dropping this scheme as the price of an understanding--as it undoubtedly is--then the western powers are in the position of being able to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union only by tearing up the agreement they reached among themselves at London and by ordering their German puppets not to do what so recently, and despite German protests, they ordered them to do. It is hardly to be wondered at if, under such conditions, the negotiating process turns out to be long. But those in the west who hope for peace, and are appalled at the drift toward war, will not follow the press into the valley of despair so long as the talks in the Kremlin continue.

Signs of Hope

ONE DAY last week the Moscow radio went to considerable lengths to remind the Russian people how important a contribution the U.S. made to Germany's defeat and how unstinted had been America's war aid to the Soviet Union. Three days later New Times, the Moscow monthly devoted exclusively to foreign affairs, devoted its leading editorial paragraph to ridicule of the idea that there is no ground for a compromise agreement between the western powers and the U.S.S.R. It would be foolish to read too much into these two incidents, but they may be signs that the Kremlin is getting ready to prepare the Russian public for a shift in Soviet policy. At the same time, the mass demonstrations in Bizonia against rising food prices are certainly a sign that the Germans in the western zones are not as well satisfied with American policies as the American public has been given to understand.

Spies, Traitors & Congress

PRESIDENT TRUMAN says that the inquiries by Senate and House committees into Communist spying and infiltration of the government are red herrings to distract public attention from Congress' failure to meet domestic problems. That politics has played a part in producing the present

excitement no sophisticated observer will doubt. However, the charges--especially those made by one of the editors of Time--are of such a nature that they cannot be lightly dismissed. If, as Mr. Chambers asserted on the basis of his own experience as a confessed former Communist serving the Communist "homeland," men as high in the government as Mr. Hiss and Mr. White were also serving the Soviet Union, there is certainly need for more searching examination into the loyalty of government servants than has so far been made. And if these charges are not true, as Mr. Hiss and Mr. White declare, there is equal need to establish that fact and let a blast of fresh air into the superheated committee rooms where the inquiries are going on. The Carnagie Endowment for International Peace, of which Mr. Hiss is now president, and Time cannot afford to let the matter drop where it now stands. Especially must Time, for the sake of the reputation of its staff, insist that the truth or falsity of these charges by one of its editors be proved.

Mr. Hoover: A Great American

DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE once said that every British politician who lives to be 80, however reviled he may have been during his active career, by that act becomes an object of public veneration. Something of the sort seems to be happening to Mr. Hoover. He must find it hard to reconcile the acclaim that is being showered on him these days with the derision and hatred once his portion. Such a speech as he delivered at the celebration of his 74th birthday in the Iowa town where he spent his boyhood will add to his stature in his countrymen's eyes. Marked by a geniality too seldom disclosed while he was in the White House, Mr. Hoover's speech also contained one of the most moving tributes to the meaning of America to the world that has been voiced in this generation. Underlying all was the sense of a conservative but honest mind wrestling with a problem for which the answer is still hidden, namely, how to preserve the liberty of individuals in a world which calls for a constant growth of community action and consequent increase of community powers. There were sections of Mr. Hoover's West Branch speech which should be read aloud in every American school this coming year, and for years hereafter.

Southern Primaries Inspire Hope

THIS is not only the year of the Dixiecrats. It deserves to be remembered also as the year when 30,000 Negroes voted in the Democratic primaries in South Carolina, at the behest of a federal judge (see earlier story on page 860), and the sky did not fall. And it is the year when the voters of Tennessee handed Boss Crump such a resounding defeat that its salutary effect should be felt throughout the south. Democracy faces rough sledding in much of the south--as well as in other parts of the nation--but there is no reason to despair of its future.

Poland's Anti-Vatican Drive

IN ITS RELATIONS with the German and Polish hierarchies, the Vatican has come up against a dilemma such as Communists the world over delight in posing for their adversaries. It started when Pope Pius XII sent a letter to the German bishops expressing sympathy for the Germans ousted from territories turned over to Poland. Now, the Religious News Service correspondent reports from Warsaw, that letter is being used as fuel in the campaign Poland's new Communist leaders are waging to undermine the Vatican's prestige among the country's predominantly Catholic population. Even schoolchildren are being told how the pope is "siding with the imperialists" against Poland's right to her "recovered territories." The most ardent Catholic supporters, it is said, admit that the campaign is producing results, particularly among youth. Cardinal Sapieha, archbishop of Cracow, has gone to Rome, presumably to report on Polish reaction to the letter. If the Vatican makes some sort of conciliatory gesture, however, the German hierarchy will be offended. Therein lies the dilemma.

Newsworthy Items from Here & There

FACED by the certainty of being outvoted in the conference on control of the Danube, the Americans, British and French are reported to have agreed not to recognize the decisions of the conference, while Secretary Marshall told a press group that this nation could not be a party to agreements that violate fundamental principles. What fundamental principle is involved in the case of the Danube? The freedom of waterways bearing international traffic? As in the case of the Panama Canal, perhaps?... Is "one world" an illusion? A trade mission from Tibet reached New York last week to negotiate for American machinery in exchange for Tibetan wool, furs, hides and musk....The Baptist church in a Michigan resort town has been packing vacationers in this summer with "drive-in" services.

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

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EDITORIAL

IT ISN'T in predominantly Roman Catholic countries only that strange notions of religious freedom come to light. Consider, for example, the demands which the Greek Orthodox Church has made on the Athens Parliament regarding the religious clauses in the new Greek constitution. "The exercise of the duties of any recognized religion is free and protected by law." The Orthodox Church accepts this as a start for the section on religion, and it sounds all right unless there is a joker hidden in that word "recognized." But then it is insisted that a provision shall be inserted to provide that "the appointment of non-Orthodox clergy, as well as the erection of church, mosque or synagogue buildings is forbidden without the special permission of the state." And all "proselytizing or any other intervention against the Eastern Orthodox Church" is to be forbidden. Provision that proselytizing by the Orthodox Church is also to be banned is emptied of meaning by the stipulation that "seeking out a proselyte and bringing him back to the fold of the Orthodox Church is not considered proselyting." Moreover, the church declares that "freedom of the religious conscience" must not be granted those who adhere to the Julian calendar, and that Parliament must drop the word "doctrines" from the clause it had tentatively written stating that "all religions and doctrines shall be free." So this is religious liberty, Greek style!

Freedom of Religion: Greek Version

Amending the Federal Constitution

SOUTHERN members of Congress did not get far with their offer to detour the poll-tax issue by submitting a constitutional amendment to the states. With the opposition of only thirteen states needed to block enactment of an amendment, the offer was too plainly loaded in favor of the "Dixiecrats." It should not be forgotten, however, that two proposed amendments are now in the legislative works. One, limiting a President to two terms, has already been approved by half the required number of state legislatures. If the Republicans win in November, it may obtain enough support from Democratic states to place it in the Constitution as the Twenty-Second Amendment. Equally important is the Lodge-Kefauver amendment (J.R. 200) now before Congress. This would do away with the electoral college and cast the electoral vote of each state, not in a solid block, but in proportion to the popular vote in the state. In this way, the presidential choice would accurately reflect the public will, and the disproportionate influence now exerted on national policies by minority groups claiming a balance of power in pivotal states would be greatly modified. Speedy ratification of both these amendments would provide much needed additional safeguards for the democratic process in this country.

The Myths of Politics

CONGRESS' struggle over anti-poll tax legislation affords another illustration of the determinative effect which myths frequently exert on politics. The proposal to do away with poll taxes has become a symbol of full political rights for Negro citizens and delivery of the south from its anti-democratic one-party system. Yet it may be doubted whether enactment of the pending legislation would have much actual effect either in giving Negroes access to the ballot-box or in lifting the level of southern political life. There is no poll tax in, for example, Florida, Georgia and Louisiana. But the problems of representative government in those states do not greatly differ from the same problems in, say, Mississippi, Tennessee and Virginia. If Boss Crump wants Negroes to vote in Memphis, they vote—poll tax or no poll tax. If the Talmadges and the Ku Klux don't want them to vote in Georgia, they don't vote—and the fact that the tax has been abolished in that state counts for little. In point of fact, the pending anti-poll tax bill does not begin to offer as much legislative protection

for the Negro's right of franchise as the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment, which has been in the Constitution and a dead letter for eighty years! Nevertheless, anti-poll tax legislation has become a symbol, and it will therefore be fought over with as much passion as though the whole issue of the Negro's political rights and of the democritization of southern politics were actually at stake. Symbols frequently become more important than facts. Or rather, they become the important facts.

Mr. Dulles and Russia

SPEAKING of political symbols, as we were in the paragraph above, one of the most interesting, and in many respects most ridiculous, examples of this phenomenon is the current Wallaceite smear of John Foster Dulles. Marquis Childs, in reporting the third party Philadelphia convention, spoke of the way in which Mr. Dulles was excoriated as responsible for the "get tough" policy with Russia and how, at every mention of his name, "the response was as automatic as the response of a doorbell when you press the button. Boo! Hiss!" Then Mr. Childs went on to state that Mr. Dulles' influence has consistently been exerted in Washington for new negotiations with the Russians, against the "get tough" policy, against revival of a centralized Germany with a dangerous military potential and against the growth of military influence in the making of American policy. The complete report to the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches from which Mr. Dulles' article on page 849 of this issue is taken (the entire 16,500-word document may become one of the most important in international affairs after next November 2) amply confirms what Mr. Childs says as to Mr. Dulles' actual position. But that will not affect Mr. Wallace's campaign. His partisans must have someone to boo and hiss, and Communist-line propagandists long ago nominated Dulles, the "Wall Street lawyer" and tool of the "international bankers," for that role.

Dean Archer to Direct 'Protestants United'

ALL the indications are that Dr. Poteat, Bishop Oxnam, Dr. Mackay, Dr. Dawson and the other members of the little group of concerned Americans who launched Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State a few months ago had no premonition as to the extent of the public response they would elicit. So great has this been, in fact, that the volunteer services of the founding members have been unable to keep abreast of the demands on the organization. A full-time executive director has been urgently needed. National search for the right man has now led to the selection of Dr. Glenn L. Archer, who is resigning his post as dean of the law school at Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas, to take charge in the P.O.A.U. offices at Washington. Dean Archer is a Methodist layman, a former associate director of the legislative division of the National Educational Association and administrative assistant to Governor Frank Carlson of Kansas. He brings to his new task an experience and equipment which should insure a wise, firm and constructive leadership.

Barrack Church in Germany

[EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE]

Geneva, July 27.

ASIDE from matters involved in the coming Assembly at Amsterdam, the favorite subject for debate around the World Council offices these days is what happened at Eisenach, where the Evangelical Church in Germany held its recent assembly. Everybody agrees that it was a most important meeting, but from that point the argument starts. What did Eisenach accomplish? It did not end in the disruption of the EKID, as many anticipated it would. On the contrary, it set up a basis for continuing unity in a body which is sometimes referred to as a church and at other times as a federation of churches. Which is it? And will not its efforts to determine the answer to that question provide a fertile field for dissension in months to come? Among persons here who are well informed on German church affairs, opinion differs from the belief that Eisenach will mark the real beginning of a united church in Germany to the conviction that it offers the church nothing more than another chance to win that unity by laying a foundation far more stable than any that has yet been laid.

I

The assembly met on July 9 in Eisenach, which is in the Russian zone. It brought together about 300 of the bishops, leaders and prominent laymen of around 25 *Landeskirchen* or regional churches. All delegates were officially elected or appointed, so the assembly had authority to speak for more than 90 per cent of German Protestantism. Methodists, Baptists and other "free" churchmen were not present. This meeting followed in direct line from the first and second Treysa conferences. The first Treysa assembly was marked by a strong sense of Christian fellowship, growing out of the witness of the "Confessing Church" against the nazi terror and a common recognition of the enormous responsibilities which lay on the church in postwar Germany. The meeting appointed a Council of Twelve to look after the general affairs of the churches and to arrange for drafting a constitution for their future life together.

The record of the three years that have followed made many people believe that real unity is impossible of achievement. Theological, confessional and too often personal conflicts have sadly strained the fellowship which was born in Hitler's jails and concentration camps. The chief parties to the dissension were the Lutheran group led by Bishop Meiser of

Bavaria, which sought to preserve and strengthen Lutheran unity, and the left-wing Confessing group led by Niemoeller and greatly influenced by Barth. When the Lutherans called their own conference to meet at Eisenach just before the EKID assembly, the prospect for union seemed dim indeed. But those who despaired too soon reckoned without the power of the Spirit which was loosed by suffering.

II

The first thing one must take into account in looking toward the future was that *two* constitutional documents came out of Eisenach. The meeting of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany (VELKD) drew up a document which unites these churches under a bishop's conference and a general synod. A "leading bishop" is to be appointed who will hold office for six years. This United Lutheran Church is prepared to take its place in the ecumenical movement. Its membership is open to Lutheran congregations in Germany or overseas, as well as to the Lutheran *Landeskirche* of Germany. What the Lutheran churches of Wuertemburg, Oldenburg, Luebeck and Pommern will do about this is uncertain, since they were not represented in the meeting.

The same people attended the conference which immediately followed and voted to approve the second constitution, that of the EKID. This document was not designated by that name, but was called a "basic order." Behind the choice of this unusual term lay an aversion for the word "constitution," since that had been used by the German Christian Church—the Hitlerite body of nazi days. The term was also meant to indicate that the new instrument will be more flexible than a constitution. The EKID document recognizes the confessional differences of its members. The new body is defined as a "federation of Lutheran, Reformed and United churches." At the same time, the federation is called "a church," and this is held to be reasonable because all members accept the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The document holds that the church is independent of the state. "The church, for the sake of its commission, regulates and administers its affairs autonomously, and appoints its offices independently of the state." Article 18 says that "the EKID represents common church interests in relation to all who exercise public authority." It seeks "a unified action on the part of its member churches in all realms of public life. The EKID cooperates in the ecumenical movement and promotes the cultivation of ecumenical relationships through church agencies and societies."

At the head of the church or federation is a synod of 120 members which has the power to legislate. Below that is the "church conference," which is made up of leaders of the member churches, and which can recommend to the synod subjects for discussion and advice. Both agencies elect an administrative council of twelve members, which functions through the church chancellery and foreign office. The Eisenach assembly formally takes over the legal status and responsibilities of the German Evangelical Church Federation, which was founded in 1922, and the German Evangelical Church, which was founded by Hitler's emissaries in 1933.

III

A confusing feature of the new "basic order" is its language concerning the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. "The orderly administration of holy baptism is mutually recognized in all member churches," says the document. But prolonged debate over the communion produced this article: "In many member churches, members of another valid confession within EKID will be admitted without restriction. In no member church will access to the Lord's Table be barred to any member of a confession valid within the EKID, when pastoral responsibility or congregational relationships demand it." What does this mean?

First, it describes current practice in the churches. The scrambling of population in Germany has confronted churches everywhere with the question as to what they will do to bring the ministries of religion to uprooted people who have suddenly been thrust upon them. Generally they have accepted the situation and sensibly ministered to all alike. This clause constitutes an official recognition of this fact, but it merely accepts it as a fact, without attempting to justify it on theological grounds. Second, it commits the church to a course of action. It will be impossible for it to retrace its steps. This gives added significance to the work of a theological commission in which both Lutheran and Reformed positions are represented in discussions of the communion. Third, it establishes the fact that intercommunion is recognized by the highest church authority, at least for the present emergency. But intercommunion applies to members only. Lutheran pastors still administer communion in Lutheran churches; Reformed in Reformed. A Lutheran minister might and often does open his church to a Reformed minister who comes and administers communion to his own people, but no Lutherans are likely to be present.

IV

Critics of Eisenach point out that this actually represents a retrogression from the position taken at the Treysa conference of 1947, when the assembly said flatly that there would be free intercommunion for all members of churches in the Evangelical Church in Germany. Now it is merely permitted. In addition, they maintain that the unresolved difference between federation and church will continue to make trouble. Tension on this point springs from differing conceptions of what a church is—an issue which lies fairly close to the heart of the ecumenical problem. With the VELKD now launched as an organized body, it is entirely within the realm of possibility that it and EKID may be drawn into a struggle over which is most authentically the church in Germany. The anomalous and potentially trouble-making situation presented to Lutheran churches by the competing claims of the two bodies for their own membership will not lessen this tension. Most of these churches

are already members of EKID, through the Church Foreign Office, and now they are to be asked to join the Lutheran overhead body. The same situation prevails with regard to the World Council of Churches, to which German churches are now related by EKID. The VELKD constitution says that its member churches are to be represented by VELKD in their ecumenical relations.

This mess of unresolved problems seems to promise further stormy months or years for German Protestantism. But it does not foredoom its struggle for unity. The conviction is widespread here that the Eisenach assembly went further than anybody believed it could and that it represents an important step forward. So Bishop Wurm said that while the results of the assembly could not be likened to the erection of a great cathedral, they still represented a "barrack church" such as one sees near ruined cathedrals in German cities today. This barrack EKID is still a building within which the Word of God can be preached and heard and the service of God carried forward. Dr. Heinemann, Oberburgermeister of Essen and the leading layman who acted as president of the Eisenach synod, agreed, saying that the candid debates had been productive of spiritual consolidation.

V

Perhaps the most decisive endorsement of the results of the assembly was given by the immediate approval of the new "basic order" by the Confessing Church Brotherhood. This organization, which dates back to 1933 and contains both ministers and laymen, accepted the constitution and declared that it will support the EKID and its leadership. Its action may have an important effect on the decisions which must be reached with reference to the Eisenach constitution by the *Landeskirche* before the first general meeting of the synod of the new body, which is likely to be held before the end of 1948.

The Eisenach meeting was not insensitive to the tension between east and west. One unpublicized event which occurred during the Eisenach meeting, and is now a matter of general knowledge here, illustrates that. A Russian general invited around thirty leading German churchmen to hold a discussion with him. It lasted from ten in the evening to two in the morning. The host made a most conciliatory speech, in which he said that Russians admired the German people and that Russia wanted nothing but a free and united Germany. A bishop whose courage has withstood many tests in recent years replied, saying that he too desired to see the freedom and unity of Germany, and would recognize its appearance when all foreign troops had gone home! Reports from the meeting say that enough soft soap was poured over the guests so that each would have had enough to provide him with shaving lather for a year if he could have carried it away with him. The general's gesture was only one example of the great lengths to which the Russians went in giving the delegates to the meeting every facility and courtesy within their power.

H.E.F.

Answering Back

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: There was once a popular and able paper which with a modest pride invited its readers to suggest ways out of social dilemmas. The other day a humorist of no little experience lighted upon one such answer which I commend because of its substance and style. The hero of the story drove a taxicab —a new and shining car, not one held together by baling wire. His fare was a nabob who desired to be driven to a certain swank hotel. On arrival, the fare paid what was due and added for the driver's sole enjoyment one dime.

What should that driver have done? It should be mentioned that the journey had not been short nor free from hindrances. The driver had certain legitimate hopes.

He might have quietly dropped the coin into his pocket, murmuring to himself and to any who were near, "Words ain't equal to it." A dignified answer, you will agree, but not sufficient for such a moment.

He might have invited his fare to "put 'em up," and there might have ensued a conflict such as in more primitive times would have provided a scene of great animation.

But what he actually did was simple but satisfying. Looking at the coin he said, "Yes, you can buy a great deal with a dime even in days like these."

That is all I know of the story. But its quality stands out for anyone to see. In the early stages of a controversy nothing is lost by urbanity of tone. To divert attention from the particular coin as a small, contemptible thing was a master measure.

Don't laugh at the coinage of the realm, even if it is of a lowly mintage. A dime! And why not? Do you forget those days of childhood when you stood nose against the shop window hungry for what the dime which was not in your pocket might have bought? And thanks to the forethought (or negligence) of our statesmen, you can still turn your dimes into doughnuts or other elementary necessities.

An admirable thinker, this cabby. His point was that tipping was an economic fact to be accepted or rejected as such. It was not that the nabob within the hotel was now spending hundreds of dimes; not even that tipping was part of a bad system—a consideration to secure a priority, as its opponents allege. Our hero saw tipping as a transaction which has its financial side but also, and far more important, its human and personal side. "Remember the personal," he said in effect.

It is good advice for nearly every situation. After all, though most of us are ciphers in the calculations of the nabobs, in our own reckoning we amount to something considerable, and in the eternal arithmetic each of us is priceless. But for the present a little candor and some humor may prepare the way.

Ever yours striking the personal note,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

Peace With Russia

By John Foster Dulles

THE SOVIET reliance on change by force and violence constitutes a serious obstacle athwart any program for building world peace. Soviet influence is considerable, and it is now favored by external conditions. World War II created a vacuum of power in many areas. Of the eight so-called "great powers," three—Italy, Germany and Japan—have been engulfed by the disaster of defeat. Three—the United Kingdom, France and China—have been enfeebled by the struggle for victory. Therefore, there is about the Soviet Union a power vacuum into which it has already moved to bring some 300 million people, representing about 15 nationalities, under the dominant influence of dictatorship of the proletariat and its revolutionary theories and practices.

Even more important than this fact of political vacuum is the fact that there has developed in the world much of a moral vacuum. The so-called western or Christian civilization has long accepted most of the social ends now professed by the Soviet Communist party and, indeed, its goals have been even more advanced. But of recent years, it has seemed to be half-hearted and lacking in fervor or sense of urgency. The result has been that many people have unthinkingly compared the idealized purposes and theories of the Soviet program with the worst practices of western nations. Others, eager for quick results, uncritical of means, have been attracted to the Soviet program by the very violence of its means, which have seemed a proof of zeal.

Christians and the War Threat

The fact that Christian citizens tend to favor nonviolent means is taken as proof that they lack zeal. The consequent degree of following attracted by the Soviet's dynamic program has encouraged Soviet leaders to entertain great expectations of realizing their particular "one world." Their ambitions have mounted so that there is indeed grave danger of that "series of frightful collision between the Soviet republic and the bourgeois states" which Lenin and Stalin have forecast as inevitable.

Christians must dedicate themselves to prevent such developments. There are in the main two ways of doing so.

First, Christians must reject, and see to it that their nations reject, the Soviet thesis of the inevitability of violent conflict and they must not imitate Soviet leadership by placing reliance on violent means.

Second, Christians must see to it that their nations demonstrate that peaceful methods can realize the goals which we all espouse.

There is disturbing evidence that the so-called "free societies" are themselves tending to adopt those features of Soviet procedure which Christians particularly condemn. In the United States, great emphasis is being placed upon achieving military supremacy, and military counsels are more influential than has normally been the case in this republic. Some portions of the American press are stirring up emotional hatred against the Soviet Union and there is some distortion of truth, principally through the exaggeration of what is true but of minor importance.

Soviet Program Dangerous

It is no doubt desirable that the free societies should be resolute and strong. Also, it is important that the members of free societies should understand the true nature of the Soviet program so that they do not abet it mistakenly. Also, there is no good in concealing the fact that the Soviet program is dangerous. Whenever any particular group sets out to dominate the world and to do so by methods of violence, coercion and terrorism, a tense situation is bound to result. No doubt Soviet leaders do not want major war, although we must recall that Lenin has stated, and Stalin has repeated, that "if the ruling class, the proletariat, wants to hold sway, it must prove its capacity to do so by military organization also."

But even if, as we believe, Soviet leaders now look upon their methods of internal penetration as more effective than international war, still the situation is risky. It requires a very nice judgment to use force precisely to the degree which will gain the maximum without precipitating actual war. Such an effort also assumes, on the part of others, a degree of self-control which we hope and pray exists, but which is not a certainty. Thus peace is at the risk of incidents or miscalculations. The free societies need to face up to that reality. But also they must strive to exercise iron self-control, being determined not themselves to use force to crush the Soviet experiment. They may not like the Soviet experiment in state socialism and its dynamic world-wide program, but they must recognize that a free world is a world of difference and that any society has a right to experiment and compete.

Communism Deserves Fair Chance

Marshal Stalin claimed that the results of the Soviet first Five Year plan proved that "the working class is as able to build the new as to destroy the old" (p. 439) and that they have confounded the claim of capitalism as the "best of all societies" (p. 440).* If in fact the Soviet system of state socialism can peacefully confound capitalism, it is entitled to the opportunity to do so. Unhappily the Soviet does not rely primarily upon such methods of peaceful competition

*Unless otherwise indicated, quotations are from J. Stalin's *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1940. This volume is currently circulated by official Soviet agencies as an authoritative expression of present day Soviet doctrine.

and comparison. But the Soviet methods, while they are in part methods which Christians will generally reject, are, so far at least, methods short of war, and Christian citizens of the free societies must make a supreme effort to do all that lies within their power to keep it so and to see that their nations use peaceful responses which are available and which can preserve and extend the system of free societies.

The most important response to the Soviet challenge will be in effecting peacefully the reforms which Soviet leaders contend can only be effected by violent means. We must by actual demonstration disprove Stalin's dictum that "one must be a revolutionary, not a reformist" (p. 597).

The western democracies won their prestige in the world through their great peaceful accomplishments. The industrial revolution, the concept of "liberty, equality and fraternity" and the experiments in political freedom created world-wide confidence in the dynamic and life-giving quality of their institutions. But for long now, these democracies have faced no serious competition. The quality of their effort has deteriorated and they have, to a considerable extent, been coasting with a momentum that is waning. Many do not like it that a challenge has now arisen. Many would prefer a peace which is a condition of tranquility or stagnation, where all threat and challenge are removed and where men can feel that they can safely relax. Some are inclined to the view that unless we get that kind of peace we do not have peace at all, and an irresponsible few talk of using force to crush the challenger.

War Talk Is Folly

That is folly. Those of us who are of the western peoples face the task of mental adjustment to dynamic peace where there is competition. We need to make it clear to ourselves and we need to make it clear to proponents of other systems that we welcome a world in which there is peaceful competition. Above all, we need to make it clear that we can peacefully, through reform, bring about results which all men want and which they will be apt to seek by the violent methods which the Soviet sponsors unless we can prove that they can be achieved by peaceful means.

Whenever a system is challenged, there is a tendency to rally to support the system "as is." The world becomes divided between those who would maintain the status quo and those who would change the status quo. As we have seen, those who would sustain the status quo inevitably are defeated. And almost inevitably the issue is resolved by violence. The result may not be the particular changes desired by the dynamic powers, but equally, it does not maintain the status which their opponents sought to preserve. So it is that in the face of Soviet challenge we must not rally to the defense of our institutions just as they are, but we must seek even more ardently to make them better than what they now are.

In fact, much progress has been made along this line. One thinks immediately of the action of Great Britain in bringing 500 millions of colonial dependent peoples peacefully to self-government. That has been the most effective way to demonstrate that the achievement of self-government by dependent peoples was not dependent upon a Soviet "revolutionary alliance" (p. 52) and that it is possible to achieve by peaceful means results which the Soviet leaders profess to want but which they have said could only be achieved by violent means.

Meeting Communism on Its Own Ground

The "free societies" have also made considerable progress in achieving an economy whereby production is on the basis of ability and distribution on the basis of need. The steeply graduated income and estate taxes which now prevail generally in "capitalist" countries take largely from those who have ability to accumulate and to an increasing extent this is being distributed to those in need in the form of social security programs. These countries are in fact much closer to the so-called "higher phase" of communism than is the Soviet Union itself.

Socially, the great blot on the escutcheon of the democracies is the discrimination against colored persons practiced by much of the white population of the United States. Here, however, the problem is recognized and great efforts are being made to deal with it. It is not possible by legislative fiat to eradicate social prejudices, the origins of which go back hundreds of years. There is, however, a vast change which is in peaceful process.

The danger is that those who face the Soviet challenge will feel they must defend themselves on every count. There is some evidence that the Soviet challenge is, to an extent, having that natural result. Christians must stand strong against that, recognizing the imperfection of every system and of every nation, not identifying righteousness with anything that is, but constantly striving to prove that the evils that exist can be eradicated by peaceful means.

Russian Leaders Realists

That demonstration is already gathering momentum, and as that momentum grows, the Soviet menace will become innocuous and Soviet leaders themselves will probably abandon, or at least indefinitely postpone, their efforts to produce change by violent means. Probably they will not do so as a matter of conviction, for the conception of violent change is deeply ingrained. But they can be expected to alter their tactics as soon as there will no longer be available to them in the different countries of the world sufficient support for successful revolutionary measures. Soviet leaders are realists. They do not consider that violence must be continuous or that it should be recklessly undertaken. Their aim is to strike "at the decisive point, at the decisive moment" (p. 63, Lenin). There is not uninterrupted attack and there may at times be strategic retreat. "They have to realize—and the revolutionary class is taught to realize by its own bitter experience—that victory is impossible unless they have learned both how to attack and how to retreat properly" (p. 65, Lenin). "The object of this

strategy is to gain time" (p. 65). There must be a "selection of the moment for the decisive blow" (p. 64).

So it is that while Soviet leaders believe in violent means, they do not believe in continuing violence and they do not believe in violence being precipitated until the moment comes when "all the class forces hostile to us have . . . exposed . . . their practical bankruptcy" (p. 64, Lenin).

The years between the Soviet revolution and World War II involved a very large exposure of practical bankruptcy on the part of non-Communist nations. During that period the "free societies," at least, were not at their best. Soviet leaders have encountered weaknesses which have afforded them great opportunities and given them great encouragement. Within recent years that situation has begun to change. There have been some great constructive developments. It is possible to push forward along the same lines in which great gains have already been registered, and it is imperative that this should be done.

It is regrettable that the Soviet Communist party and those that follow its guiding directions will not cooperate in a world program to develop peacefully conditions needed for peaceful change. But that non-cooperation need not operate as a veto. If, through fear or morbid fascination, the free societies do nothing, then they do indeed make inevitable those violent revolutionary processes, those frightful collisions, which Soviet leadership would precipitate as its means to its ends.

The Soviet challenge loses its potency once the free societies show a capacity for constructive action. As I have said, the challenge, in its present phase, seems not a militaristic challenge, like that of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese warlords. It is a call to revolution. If the non-communist societies, faced by that challenge, stand still and do nothing, for fear of offending Soviet leadership, they are lost. If they quietly move ahead, showing a practical capacity to achieve peacefully the things which Soviet leaders say can come only after an "entire historical era" of violence, then those talkers will quickly be rated as "incorrigible windbags"—to use Stalin's expression.

Spearhead for Islam

By Robert Root

EGYPT is easily the biggest nation in the Arab Moslem world. In such a country, where literacy and life expectancy are alike low, young people have astonishing importance, especially if they possess some education. The strongest Egyptian youth movement, in both numbers and influence, is a fanatic and growing organization, half religious, half political, called the Moslem Brotherhood. The brotherhood is undoubtedly the major agitator in the Arab world, showing a fervor which, in the tradition of Islam, is at once religious and nationalist. If it continues to grow, the influence of the brotherhood upon developments throughout the great Mohammedan belt that stretches across Asia will obviously be important.

History of Moslem Brotherhood

The Moslem Brotherhood was founded about a decade ago by a sheik, or Moslem religious leader, Hassan el Banna. Sheik Banna was educated at El Azhar mosque, a sort of educational mecca in Cairo, and became a schoolteacher. In the *Fuehrer* tradition, he displays an effective mastery of words when he harangues mass meetings. If his movement is fanatical, he personally is said to be of quiet, calm appearance, and he even has some friendly contacts with Christian Copts.

In the first years of Banna's organizing no one heard of the brotherhood. Responsible neutrals say that more recently powerful persons must have put up huge sums to give the movement a push. Then the partition of Palestine provided the brotherhood with something to shout about. The consensus is that not many young Egyptians of any kind are actually going to Palestine to fight, but the brotherhood has been carrying on a ferocious talking battle. Membership has climbed, and organization of branches has extended even to most of the small villages. A common estimate of the brotherhood's size is half a million. That is probably exaggerated. One Egyptian guessed that membership has grown from 20,000 to 100,000 in the past five years.

Pattern for Government

The age of brotherhood members ranges from the late teens to the mid-thirties. Banna has naturally had success in recruiting among the tens of thousands of Koran-trained primary school teachers like himself. Other economically depressed white-collar classes have furnished large numbers of adherents, as has the working class, which has no effective trade unions to voice its complaints. Among the educated the movement has had little appeal. Many of its members however are literate enough to be able to read brotherhood propaganda sheets uncritically.

The movement's program aims at an Egyptian government amalgamating state and religion, and a return to rigid application of basic Moslem law. Some Moslems cannot take seriously the idea that all the Koran's ordinances—for instance, that a man who steals should have his arm cut off—ought to be applied literally. One Islamic rule which the brotherhood is said to observe strictly is that against alcoholic drinks.

There is little doubt that the brotherhood wants government power, but at present it is not sufficiently strong to be a partisan political factor. "We are not running after control of jobs," Sheik Banna once said. "The jobs will be running after us." If the brotherhood came into power the state would be set up on an authoritarian plan. The organization is now bossed by the sheik as its all-powerful leader, with the branches subject to direct central control. This scheme of operation appears to be unsatisfactory to some members. In fact, about a year ago a comparatively intellectual slice of the membership revolted against it and split away.

The strong centralization of administration and loyalties contributes to the frequent charge that the brotherhood is fascist. Its public statements indicate its belief in the use of "action" rather than words in the political scene. While it would be hard to prove, some say that the brotherhood has arms and is training its members in their use for purposes other than Palestine. A Copt told me he had just read that Banna advocates abolition of elections and of parliament, with government in the hands of a council of politicians, professors, and religious and business leaders. "I was very much astonished," the Copt remarked. "It reminded me of Mussolini's plan of running the state with corporations."

Poverty Produces Unrest

As the young nazi party appealed to an unemployed lower middle class, so this movement finds response among the masses in an Egypt where poverty is as dire as anywhere in the Near East, unemployment is common and the cost of living is extremely high. Religion becomes the cement to bind together the various dissatisfied segments. Defending this policy, an Egyptian writer, apparently thinking of the Ku Klux Klan, reminds his countrymen how religious trappings were found effective in America for stirring up fanatical action against Negroes in a conflict which was also basically economic.

Religion's effectiveness as a rallying point is no doubt increased by the poverty-stricken Egyptian Moslems' observation that foreigners and Egyptian Copts and Jews tend to be well-to-do. Anti-British, anti-American and anti-Semitic sentiment blossoms, fertilized by anger about Palestine. "One religion for Egypt" has become a brotherhood slogan. Since many Moslems feel more kinship with fellow Moslems in India or the Dutch East Indies than with near-by Arabs, what has been called "religious nationalism" flourishes.

Moslem Revival

In the brotherhood's behalf, it must be said that its emphasis has promoted a religious revival, at least in outward forms. More men are going to the mosques, and there is wider observation of fasts. There are also indications that the brotherhood leaders want to keep peace with the Christian minority in Egypt. When irresponsible elements destroyed the Coptic church at Zag-a-Zig, Sheik Banna issued a statement deploring the episode. And on the twenty-fifth anniversary of a pastor of the Evangelical church—which some consider "foreign" and Copts are inclined to resent—Banna sent a representative with a special message to the celebration.

If some observers of the situation in Egypt think that the friction between Moslems and Christians is considerable, others discount it. "I do not feel that the country is divided into two camps," said the same Copt who noted the resemblance to Mussolini. "You find incidents, of course." These incidents include, besides destruction of the Zag-a-Zig church, the stoning of synagogues and of Christian and Jewish business places.

Mob Action

All this violence has the appearance of disorganized mob action. Popular opinion however credits the brotherhood with playing a part in it. Perhaps Banna is sincere in opposing such fanaticism, but he would have to admit that there are many in his brotherhood who love just that sort of violence. Whether this ugly element in the brotherhood had anything to do with the recent stoning to death of an American Jewish tourist, a French physical instructor and, it is rumored, other foreigners in the streets of Cairo, is unknown. Censorship has been severe in covering up the facts of the whole mob outbreak. But it was not out of character for the brotherhood.

Banna's movement is not without rivals and opponents. The university students—one of the most influential youth groups—urge such radical reforms that they are commonly labeled "Communist," and they afford a counter-balance. The Y.M.C.A. has a strong program in Egypt on American "Y" lines, and the expansion of the brotherhood in the villages has been met with spontaneous formation of "Y" clubs by local Christians. The Moslem Young Men's Association, modeled on the Y.M.C.A., has strong Moslem and nationalist interests but attracts a better educated element. The frankly fascist Young Egypt Society, which flourished when nazism was on the crest, is faltering and losing some members to the brotherhood, but it maintains a hold on certain totalitarian fanatics.

The Future Prospect

The most potent enemy of Banna's group is the youth division of the Wafd, the liberal opposition party which counts Copt elements among its adherents. When university students in Cairo recently tore up the king's picture and shouted, "No religion in the university," they were not only protesting the reactionary government but slashing at the brotherhood's fanaticism. Violent clashes between Wafd students and brotherhood members are common. In Alexandria the other day, for example, 10 were injured and 22 arrested during the fighting that broke out between these factions in a mass meeting concerned with funds for Palestine.

Will the brotherhood keep on growing? Certainly there is no reason to believe that the causes which

have brought it to its present strength will disappear. Egypt remains in corrupt, feudal hands. The population along the narrow green strip of the Nile has more than doubled since the beginning of the century. There is an average of only one-third of an acre of land per Egyptian, with that land often owned by wealthy landlords; and the population continues to compound at the rate of 1.2 per cent a year. As far as can be foreseen, there will indefinitely be millions of downtrodden Egyptians ready to be stirred by the fanatical call now being sounded by the Moslem Brotherhood.

BOOKS

The Catholic Case for Tax-Supported Church Schools

THE FIRST FREEDOM, CONSIDERATIONS ON CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES. *By Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. The Declan X. McMullen Company, 23 Beekman St., New York, $2.25.*

THE SPECIFIC PURPOSE of this treatise is to support the current campaign of the Roman Catholic Church to get federal funds for its parochial schools. This is demanded in the name of "religious liberty." The approach to this objective is along two lines of argument: first, that "separation of church and state" is not a constitutional doctrine, but is only a "shibboleth" of more recent origin, derived from a vicious "secularist" misinterpretation of the Constitution and the First Amendment; second, that Catholic schools are "public" schools and should therefore share in the benefits of any appropriation of public funds for public education.

The book is "addressed to all Americans, of any or no faith, who believe in the American constitutional principle of religious liberty." Father Parsons holds that this American principle demands equal treatment of all churches by the federal government, but does not exclude federal support of their activities if such aid is offered to all on equal terms. He does not say that he himself *believes* in this principle of equal treatment, though he addresses his argument to those who do (i.e., to non-Catholics) and urges its application in America under present conditions—the American Constitution and the Roman Catholic minority position being what they now are. But since he is a faithful Roman Catholic and a good Jesuit, there is ample collateral evidence as to what he believes in regard to the equal treatment of all churches by government. For example:

Pope Pius IX declared it an error to say "that in the present day it is no longer expedient that the Catholic religion shall be held as the only religion of the state, to the exclusion of all other modes of worship."

Pope Leo XIII deplored the "unrightful position" into which the church is driven "when the Catholic religion is allowed a standing in civil society equal only, or inferior, to societies alien from it." The equal treatment which Father Parsons regards as an American principle (and rightly, so far as concerns that one point) is thus officially repudiated as an infringement of Catholic rights—though, as the same pope elsewhere says, sometimes temporarily admissible when the church cannot get anything better than equality.

Jesuits more recently have been still more explicit—if anything can be more explicit. Msgr. John A. Ryan writes: "Should non-Catholics be permitted to practice their own forms of worship? If these are carried on within the family, or in such an inconspicuous manner as to be an occasion neither of scandal nor perversion to the faithful, they may be properly tolerated by the state." To this he adds the familiar words, which stand unaltered in the current edition of his book: "Superficial champions of religious liberty will promptly and indignantly denounce the foregoing propositions as the essence of intolerance. They are intolerant, but not therefore unreasonable. Error has not the same rights as truth. Since the profession and practice of error are contrary to human welfare, *how can error have rights?*"

Coming right down to 1948, we find the official Jesuit organ in Rome, *Civilta Cattolica*, in its April issue (see Christian Century, June 23), with unaccustomed frankness giving this gem of Catholic wisdom:

> The Roman Catholic Church, convinced, through its divine prerogative, of being the only true church, must demand the right to *freedom for herself alone*, because such a right can only be possessed by truth, never by error. As to other religions, the church will certainly never draw the sword, but she will require that, by legitimate means, they shall not be allowed to propagate false doctrine. Consequently, in a state where the majority of the people are Catholic, the church will require that legal existence be denied to error, and that if religious minorities actually exist, they shall have only a *de facto* existence without opportunity to spread their beliefs. If, however, actual circumstances, either due to government hostility or the strength of the dissenting groups, makes the complete application of the principle impossible, then the [Catholic] Church will require for herself all possible concessions, limiting herself to accepting, as a minor evil, the *de jure* toleration of other forms of worship. . . . The church cannot blush for her own want of tolerance, as she asserts it in principle and applies it in practice.

Here, then, are the official papal and Jesuit pronouncements on "religious liberty" and on the equality of churches before the law. Father Parsons does not dare to repeat them in this book, but he does not dare to disclaim them. They are not the statements of fringe fanatics, but the considered declarations of the head of his church and high representatives of his own order. These are the basic presuppositions behind his argument that the Constitution of the United States supports a type of church-state relationship with equally proportioned aid to all churches—a system in which he cannot "believe" but which he defends as a step toward a happier arrangement under which "error" will have no rights.

Nevertheless, the constitutional argument for the kind of state aid to religion which he presently advocates deserves to be examined on its merits. Father Parsons' conclusions are wrong, in my opinion, but in the defense of them he adduces much historical material which is valuable and relevant even though it may not, and I think does not, prove his case. The main structure of his argument seems

reducible to the following points. *Father Parsons holds:*

1. That "separation of church and state" is not an American principle, but is a phrase of extra-legal origin and undefined meaning, which is now a mere "shibboleth" chiefly useful to those who defend "the purely secularist meaning which is now being read into the First Amendment."

2. That the support of established churches was not in itself repugnant to the American people when the Constitution and the Bill of Rights were adopted. This is proved by the fact that established churches had lately existed in several states and still continued to exist in some of them. Under the federal Constitution and the First Amendment, not only did the several states retain this right, but the limitation imposed upon the federal government implicitly reserved and confirmed to the states the power to maintain their own established churches or to give aid to any or all churches as they pleased.

3. That the framers of the Constitution and the First Amendment had nothing more in mind, so far as concerns religion, than the prohibition of one established church for the federal union. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* is quoted to show that "established church" explicitly means one church to which the government grants a monopoly or, at least, special favors that no other church enjoys. It would therefore, by definition, be impossible to "establish" more than one church, or all churches equally; and conversely, equal favor, even including financial aid, to several churches would not be "an establishment of religion" and therefore would not come under the prohibition of the First Amendment.

4. That the First Amendment does not forbid aid to churches but requires only that such aid, if given, shall be given impartially to all. "Nothing was said or implied in the legislative process to the effect that the religious amendment to the Constitution forbade the federal government to maintain relations with the various forms of religion, or even to support them, provided it acted with equality and impartiality." Bishop Carroll is quoted as appealing to "the great principle of religious freedom" and to "the sacred rights of conscience" in his reply to an unnamed writer (whose identity is still undiscovered) who is said to have asked for the establishment of "the Protestant religion." Carroll wanted equality for all churches.

5. That Catholic schools are "public" schools and are therefore entitled to public funds. They serve the public interest. They teach the same things that the state-controlled public schools teach, but with that teaching "enriched and illumined" by Catholic truth.

6. That the state's duty to support schools does not imply either the duty or the right to control all the schools it supports. The right of the state to control any schools is not denied as sweepingly as by some Catholic writers; on the principle of economy, claiming only as much as is necessary for his thesis, Parsons limits himself to saying that the state is under obligation to support (without controlling) all the kinds of schools whose work it accepts in fulfillment of its compulsory education requirement. Since pupils are permitted to attend Catholic schools (remember the invalid Oregon law), the government owes these schools support. Failure of the state to support schools other than those which it directs results in a "monolithic" or "totalitarian" system of state-controlled culture.

I have tried to give a fair and objective synopsis of the argument. It remains to comment briefly upon these points one by one, following the same scheme of numbering.

1. Parsons is right in saying that "separation of church and state" is an extra-legal term of somewhat slippery meaning. So also is "secularist," to say nothing of "shibboleth." Parsons has no aversion to slippery terms, but he is to be commended for calling attention to the fact that this phrase is not one on which to build an argument. It is not a legal term in which the Constitution defines either the rights of individuals or the structure of the state, but is rather a popular phrase which describes, with reasonable but not precise accuracy, the condition that arose out of the application of the principles of the Constitution under the conditions of American life. Parsons quotes—unwisely, I think, for it undermines his whole argument—a statement by Justice Holmes that "not logic but experience" is the life of law. Experience has put meaning into "separation of church and state" and has given it a new imperative by reason of just such attempts as this on the part of a church to dip into the public treasury.

2. Right again, in part. Established churches were imported from Europe. All respectable European Christians believed in the principle of establishment—and most of them still do, more's the pity. By 1789, some of the imported establishments were gone and the rest were going. The Constitution plus the First Amendment did nothing to outlaw them. But neither did it "confirm," either explicitly or implicitly, the power of the states to aid their favored churches. One might as well say that forbidding Congress to grant any title of nobility confirmed the power of the states to do it! The Constitution and the First Amendment left religion in the states exactly where they found it.

3. The argument as to what the framers of the Constitution and the drafters of the First Amendment intended is weakened—fatally, in my judgment—by the author's explicit refusal to view the matter in its historical context. "What was said by any citizen in any previous discussion is completely irrelevant to any discussion of the Amendment itself." ("Any citizen" here includes those citizens who wrote the Amendment and those who were members of Congress and voted for it.) So we are forbidden to take into account Virginia's recent rejection of that very system of equal aid for all churches which Parsons thinks the First Amendment opened the way for. We are asked to believe that Congress formulated an amendment on religion with no other thoughts in mind than (a) to forbid the federal establishment of any one church (which was so manifestly impossible that it was not worth mentioning), and (b) to legalize a plan of state aid for churches which had never been tried in America and which had been decisively rejected wherever it had been suggested. The latest *Britannica* may be good authority for the present meaning of "established church," and certainly the Roman Catholic Church has done what it could to make it mean "monopoly," but this does not exclude the possibility that the term had wider scope in the minds of the founding fathers.

4. Strangely enough, in view of the author's emphasis upon the idea, which must be very repugnant to him, of "equality and impartiality" in the government's treatment of the churches, neither the Constitution nor the amendment uses these terms or any equivalents. If the whole matter is to rest on exegesis of the constitutional text, this meaning is out. It requires recourse to the definition of "establishment" as necessarily limiting government favor to one church. And that, incidentally, brushes off Bishop Carroll, whom Parsons reports as arguing seriously against "the establishment of the Protestant religion" which includes many churches. Bishop Carroll was doubtless entirely sincere in appealing to "the great principle of religious freedom," for he was a man of generous spirit; but in doing so, he spoke as an American, not as a Catholic. He could be grateful that Catholics in predominantly Protestant America enjoyed

a liberty which Protestants never enjoyed in a predominantly Catholic country. The popes of his time, and from then until now, didn't think much of the "great principle of religious freedom" for any except Catholics.

5. That church schools are "public" schools is a central point with Parsons. His argument is frail. It does not extend beyond the assertion that they are public because they meet the requirements of public law concerning compulsory education. By this definition, there are practically no private schools. Even private tutoring at home is a public school. Parsons' description of the parochial school does not fit either the facts or the Catholic theory of education. He says: "The secular education given in the parochial school is the same as the education given in public schools, . . . The fact that, *over and above this*, the secular education is enriched and illumined by religious and spiritual motivation is something of which our government may not take account, such things being outside its ken by its Constitution." But in other connections, Catholic authorities insist that "secular" instruction plus religious teaching is not enough; the whole must be done in a Catholic way, under Catholic direction, and in a Catholic atmosphere. Many of them declare that the state has no right to educate; that it is the business of the state to *support* schools, but of the church to *conduct* them. When Parsons speaks of the parochial schools as "governed by state educational standards" he says something on which the determiners of Catholic educational theory will choke a little before they can swallow it. But they will swallow it because (like the "great American principle" of religious liberty and equal treatment of churches) it is the best they can get until America is more completely Catholic than it is now. The parochial school is one of the instruments for attaining this end. Non-Catholic America is asked to finance the means of its own conversion and to regard as "public" a school system which has no other reason for existence than as an agency for apologetics and propaganda.

6. Comment has been made above on part of this argument. It may be added that there is neither logic nor practical wisdom in the claim that the state is under obligation to support every kind of school which it permits to exist and whose work it accepts in fulfillment of the compulsory education requirement. To grant this claim would mean not only supporting Catholic schools; it would mean also supporting a bewildering variety of foreign-language schools. This is a country of many languages, as well as of many churches. In most of the states it is required that "public" schools (using the term in the old sense that everybody understands) be conducted in English, but the work of private schools conducted in other languages is accepted as satisfying the compulsory education laws. (Some of the Catholic schools are taught in the languages of various immigrant groups.) Parsons' argument under this head is based upon the assumption that a cultural pluralism, linguistic as well as religious, is the only alternative to totalitarianism. The confusion of tongues might well be permanent; but, as has already been shown, the diversity of religions, with equal freedom for all and equal support of all churches by government funds and favor, is viewed by Catholic authorities as only a stage in the progress toward something quite different.

Aside from the fact that Father Parsons' thesis rests upon an appeal to a religious liberty in which he cannot be supposed to believe, his book is, in the main, a sincere effort to prove his case. There are specific passages which do not merit this praise. For example, he says: "This American principle of liberty and equality of religions before our state, based on its temporal nature, does not mean that it may not confer its temporal benefits on the faithful of those religions, provided it confers them equally and with due regard to their liberty. It is here we see the hollowness and falsity of a theory of separation of church and state which would command the state to withhold its temporal benefits from the adherents of religion *merely because they are religious*." Father Parsons would have to be far less intelligent than he is not to know (a) that no "theory of separation of church and state" implies that the benefits of citizenship be withheld from the adherents of religion as such, (b) that nobody in America ever suggested such a course, and (c) that this statement of his introduces a gratuitous confusion between the state's treatment of citizens and its treatment of churches.

Father Parsons notes that there is "a deep theological cleavage" between Catholics and Protestants about the nature of the church itself. Indeed there is. Every other cleavage between them starts from there. From that, specifically, comes their difference of views as to the right relation between church and state, and as to the ultimate desirability of a regime in which one church shall enlist the cooperation of the state in the suppression of whatever that church calls "error."

W. E. Garrison.

Books in Brief

The United Nations Challenge to the Church. *By Hugh C. Stuntz. Abingdon-Cokesbury, $1.75.* The United Nations has five basic principles, the concrete realization of which is its fivefold objective: world unity; peace; respect for human personality; justice; freedom. One might say that these are not coordinate—that personality and unity are the fundamentals, while peace, justice and freedom are their corollaries. In any case, they are five objectives. In these Fondren lectures (Southern Methodist University, 1947), President Stuntz (of Scarritt College) shows that the attainment of these ends demands spiritual power and leadership which only the church can supply. The indispensable necessity of gaining these ends, if humanity is to survive in a habitable world, thus constitutes a very definite "challenge" to the church. This book, meaty and factual, invites careful reading and will repay study.

A Pioneer Woman in Alaska. *By Emily Craig Romig. Caxton Printers, $3.00.* With Alaska on the threshold of statehood, there should be fresh interest in its early days as well as its present development. Mrs. A. C. Craig, whose story is here presented in the words of her own diary, was born and educated in Denmark, married in Chicago, and went to the Klondike with her husband in 1897—and that was getting in on the ground floor. The Craigs did not strike it rich, but they stayed to play a part in building the community. Mrs. Craig became Mrs. Romig in 1937. This is an authentic, detailed and colorful account of life in America's far north.

The Disruption of American Democracy. *By Roy Franklin Nichols. Macmillan, $7.50.* The title is meant to be less ominous than it seems. "American Democracy," in the strictly accurate historical sense in which the author uses the term, means the Democratic party before the Civil War. The book is a meticulously detailed history of the political crisis that led up to that war, and especially of that party from 1856 to 1861. This involves not only a study of the issues but "a microscopic examination of the particular relations of the three elements which were [the party's] most important constituents—the voters, the machines, and the

leaders—both in their national and in their state relations." Professor Nichols (of the University of Pennsylvania) has long been engaged in historical research and writing in fields closely connected with this. One of his earlier books was *Growth of American Democracy*. His work exhibits a very high grade of historical scholarship. Many readers, following the story of the Charleston convention of 1860 when delegates from several southern states walked out, will wonder whether the similar (though smaller) defection at Philadelphia on July 14, 1948, portends a similar result for the party. They should be warned that "historical parallels" are never entirely parallel. W.E.G.

CORRESPONDENCE

Chinese Communists and Christianity

SIR: As a Chinese Christian, I appreciate very much your remarks in the short editorial, "Chinese Communists Protect Church Relief," in the July 28 issue. Many church leaders here are so biased on the Communist issue that they always tend to give one side of the picture of the Chinese Communist attitude towards religious work and organizations in their areas. This is going to produce a bad impression on the Chinese people as a whole, and is going to hamper the work of the Christian church in China later. I hope very much that more such unbiased reports can appear in your columns.

New York, N.Y. MING SUNG.

An Appeal from the Heart

SIR: Can you not call on the newspapers you read, this year of overwhelming doom, or mighty popular will for peace, to voice the conscience of those who read their pages?

"Sweep aside, on your front pages, all that is accidental, temporary; fill them with the vital news of all that shows compassion, understanding, peace; all that is positive, life-giving; the crop that conscience plants, however small its sproutings yet, this backward early spring of man's delicate possibility of survival; not the meaningless vast weeds of idiotic threats, quarrels and ludicrous self-righteousness of governments berating one another!

"Room, room and concern for what will let man live! whatever, even now, expresses his conscience and its generosity, its neighborly warmth, its inward light of personal and rational humility; not the rivalries of candidates, but the conscience of the voters—*that of God in every man.*"

Philadelphia, Pa. SARAH CLAGHORN.

Now Is It Clear?

SIR: The editorial note in your issue of June 2 on "Rumors from the Mar Thoma Church" is all wrong, because you equate the "Syrian Church of Malabar" with the "Mar Thoma Church."

The Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar, which is about 200,000 strong and of which the late Dr. Abraham Mar Thoma was metropolitan, has had during the last 100 years an independent status. It has no connection with any foreign Eastern church patriarchate or with any Western church or missionary society. It has a democratic form of church administration with its bishops elected by its representative general assembly, composed of clergy and elected lay delegates from parishes. While maintaining the traditions of the Eastern churches in its order and worship, it is evangelical in its outlook and active in missionary work. It cooperates with the National Christian Council of India and other interdenominational agencies. Its present metropolitan, Juhanon Mar Thoma, is attending the World Council of Churches' General Assembly now in session in Amsterdam.

The term, "Syrian Church of Malabar," is loosely used to cover the three main sections of this ancient Eastern church not in union with Rome, including the Mar Thoma Church. Another section, known as the Jacobite Syrian Church of Malabar, is still under the patriarch of the Jacobite Syrian Church who now lives at Homs, in Syria. The third section, known as the Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar, repudiated some 35 years ago the authority of the Jacobite Syrian patriarch and since then has had its own Indian Catholicoso, and Indian bishops elected and consecrated in India. It has no official connection with any other Eastern church or Western church. The missionaries of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta (a high church Anglican mission) have maintained for years a very friendly relationship with this section of the Syrian church. This section, together with the smaller section which still recognizes the authority of the foreign Jacobite Syrian patriarch, has a total membership of about 600,000.

The *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* may be referring to some negotiations with either of the two sections of the Syrian church mentioned above. The Mar Thoma Syrian Church knows nothing of any such negotiations as have been reported.

K. N. OOMMEN,
Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar, Secretary.
Tiruvalla, Trav., India.

Corrections

SIR: The report by Marshall Wingfield, "Cumberland Presbyterians Elect New Moderator" (July 28) contains two accuracies. This church does not "report that it is stronger today than at any other time in its history." It is stronger than at any time since the attempted merger with the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., in 1906. Further, it is stated that Bethel College, McKenzie, Tenn., has an endowment of $500,000. Instead, the endowment is approximately $400,000.

Calico Rock, Ark. HUBERT MORROW.

Children of an Unholy Union?

SIR: The Republican party would like to wash its hands of its infamous morganatic marriage with the Truman bipartisan foreign policy, but its record stands, and the Republicans must now share the shame and reproach, and pay for the children of this unholy union, namely, the Marshall plan and the draft bill.

North Manchester, Ind. CHARLES C. ROHRER.

Challenging Dr. McGeachy

SIR: D. P. McGeachy, in his report of the Presbyterian, U.S., General Assembly (June 30), states that "the Negro as we see him in the south knows nothing of sanitation or cleanliness." Mr. McGeachy may or may not know that his statement is not true. That it does much harm cannot be denied, for he tries to appear as a friend.

Albany, Ga M. F. ADAMS.

NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

Advise Against Released Time

Two Indiana County Church Councils Abandon Plans for Religious Education in Schools

INDIANAPOLIS, Aug. 4.—The council of religious education at Elwood, Ind., recently voted to discontinue its classes in religion in the public schools this fall. The action was taken on the advice of the Indiana state attorney general, and followed the receipt of a number of letters of inquiry by the local superintendent of schools. Classes in religious education were introduced into the Elwood schools last year. Several hundred Bibles had been presented to the schools by the Gideons for use in the classes. The Delaware county (Muncie) council of churches recently passed a resolution warning against the adoption of released time programs of religious education until the present situation has been clarified by a "further ruling by the Supreme Court." The resolution referred to the Protestant churches as "defenders of the principle of separation of church and state" and expressed the opinion that any program of released time has been rendered "questionable as to constitutionality" by the Supreme Court's decision in the Champaign case.

* * *

Hold Pre-Amsterdam Conference

A pre-Amsterdam conference was held in Indianapolis recently under the auspices of the local church federation, with Paul G. Macy of the midwest office of the World Council of Churches in Chicago as guest speaker. A dinner was given honoring three men from this city who will attend the Amsterdam assembly: Gaines M. Cook, who has since left for England where he is a delegate to the annual conference of the Churches of Christ; H. B. McCormick, now on his way to Geneva for a visit before the assembly opens; and this correspondent, who will spend the week before the assembly in Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Church of the Czech Brethren and the John Hus theological faculty. Another Hoosier who will attend the sessions in Amsterdam is Prof. D. Elton Trueblood of Earlham College, Richmond.

* * *

North Central Methodists Elect Four Bishops

Delegates from 8,000 Methodist churches with a total membership of 2,000,000 in the North Central jurisdiction of the denomination met here in July in quadrennial conference. They elected four new bishops: Richard Raines of Hennepin Avenue Church, Minneapolis (assigned to the Indianapolis area); Marshall R. Reid of Nardin Park Church, Detroit; H. Clifford Northcott of Champaign, Ill.; and Prof. Hazen G. Werner of Drew Theological Seminary. Twenty-two ballots were required to complete the election. The conference attracted great interest throughout the state; this was the first time a Methodist bishop had been elected in Indiana. The service of consecration on July 11 was attended by 2,000 persons. In a report on progress during the past four years, retiring Bishop Titus Lowe of the Indianapolis area stated that the "Crusade for Christ" goal for the jurisdiction had been exceeded by more than $2,000,000; that the downward trend in church school enrollment had been stemmed; and that $21,793,075 had been given for "missionary and humanitarian" enterprises. The women's division of Christian service announced a goal of 1,000,000 new members in the jurisdiction for the next quadrennium.

* * *

Roman Catholic Directs Methodist Drive

Historic Meridian Street Methodist Church, which is moving from its former downtown site in Indianapolis to a location some miles north, recently asked a local business man to take over professional direction of its campaign to raise money for the project. The business man, a Roman Catholic, consented and stated that he would render the service without charge as an expression of good will. The campaign was successful.

* * *

And So Forth

The St. Joseph county (South Bend) council of churches has purchased a residence for its new secretary, Robert L. Kincheloe. The annual report of the council shows receipts of $8,408 for the regular budget.

On July 24 Valparaiso University laid the cornerstone of a building to house the first four-year school of engineering among the nation's Lutheran colleges.

The Evangelical United Brethren Church's Board of Christian Education and Youth Fellowship met recently at Syracuse, Ind., to launch a "Strengthen the Sunday School" movement. Reuben H. Mueller of Dayton, Ohio, will direct the campaign.

GEORGE WALKER BUCKNER, JR.

Catholic Mayor Rebuked after Attending Protestant Service

The Roman Catholic mayor of Wolverhampton, England, has been rebuked by officials of his church for attending an anniversary service for the local Congregational parish, Religious News Service reports. The mayor announced his intention to continue such practice when his office required it, in spite of a reminder that the hierarchy had warned against such breaking of tradition.

No More P.O.W.'s In England

With a transport of 452 men arriving in Munsterlager on July 13, the last German P.O.W.'s were repatriated from England.

Face Communist Appeal to Youth

Church of Scotland Commission Looks into Challenge Posed by the Inroads of Secularism

EDINBURGH, July 28.—The report of the accredited Scottish observers at the festival arranged by the World Federation of Democratic Youth at Prague last year led the Church of Scotland's youth committee to appoint a committee of inquiry on matters of faith and practice in youth movements inspired by the Christian faith. The findings have now been made public, and the church's Assembly has approved that they be sent down to presbyteries and sessions for discussion and report. Emphasizing that communism is not a political problem in the usual sense but a philosophy of life and a concrete expression of the secular movement on too wide and menacing a scale to be tackled by one church alone, the commission calls for united action. Youth, it points out, demands a faith to live by and a leadership to follow which requires discipline, hardship and sacrifice.

* * *

Consider Nature Of Communism

The commission report continues with a close study of communism. It makes every allowance, even perhaps too generous allowance, for that passion for social justice which attracts many of communism's devotees. It fully admits the failure of the church as a whole to lead dynamically in matters of social justice. But it does not make adequate acknowledgement of the achievements of Christian reformers and groups, or of the intensely radical policies of some of the denominations. (One must remember, of course, that organized religion has sometimes, indeed often, been tied up with the forces of reaction and oppresion. However, Marxism is resolutely and finally materialistic: Lenin held that it is relentlessly opposed to religion.) Communism, says the commission report, is today a global force, ostensibly aimed at social justice through a radical transformation of economic institutions and based upon a denial of God and the repudiation of religion and of Christian moral standards.

* * *

Sees Danger Facing Youth in Future

The commission report searchingly analyzes the state of mind of youth today, as brought about by the decline of authority, the belief that science has exploded the Bible, the communist encouragement of young people to see themselves as leaders and persons with specific important tasks to do, the deep sense of insecurity and the collapse of moral standards. So far, it says, the

appeal of communism has not made a very deep impression in England or Scotland. "But our present insulation will not last," it continues. "Either by war or by economic pressure young people in Scotland will be forced to face a situation resembling much more closely the continental scene than does our present superficial stability. It will be then . . . that our young people will be faced with the communist challenge that has met the youth of eastern Europe and many of the western democracies. . . . It will involve the same atmosphere of hatred, criticism and terror that inevitably accompanies any totalitarian regime. It is not fantastic to picture masses of our young people being caught up in this machine—partly by sympathy and partly by ignorance."

• • •

Suggests Ways to Answer Communist Challenge

The commission concludes by urging that an instant burden be laid on the church, that a policy of action, not to be identified with any political party, be launched in the church's own right. It calls for the formation of a Christian youth front, full of knowledge and fight, to overcome the secular challenge of today—for Christian judgments expressed individually or through congregations in action and engaged in evangelism, through infiltration, witness, propaganda, Bible teaching and study. By means of trained leadership, the commission holds, young people could be intensively and constantly grounded in the great fundamentals of the Christian faith and the Christian ethic.

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Scotch Anglicans Pray For Lambeth

A recent service of solemn liturgy was sung at St. Michael's Episcopal Church, Edinburgh, for the Lambeth conference being held in London. In the sermon, Gordon Boxer listed five dangers which must be faced in all proposals for reunion: (1) The argument of expediency, e.g., "the Bolshies will get ye if ye don't watch out." (2) The impossibility of reunion with the Orthodox *and* the Protestant churches (the Anglican Church in Scotland does not call itself a Protestant church). (3) The fact that acceptance of the episcopate is only one point ("there are other matters of faith and practice separating us"). (4) The fear of being called uncharitable ("a love which is not founded on truth cannot be the basis of lasting unity"). (5) The appeal for haste, the "greatest danger of all."

INNES LOGAN.

Relief Packages Total Millions

In the first two years of operation CARE has delivered 3,500,000 packages to needy families in Germany and Austria. This is approximately 75 per cent of all CARE parcels going to more than a dozen European countries. During February, 1,020,000 gift parcels from the United States were sent to the four zones of Germany and Berlin through international parcel post.

Deny Charge of Moscow Conclave

World Council Secretariat Reiterates Its Non-Political Stand in Reply to Orthodox Resolution

GENEVA, July 28.—World Council officials have received no official word on what transpired at the recent Pan-Orthodox conference in Moscow. Their information has so far been limited to Swiss newspaper reports, quoting Radio Moscow, that the conference took a stand against participation in the Amsterdam assembly and adopted a resolution referring to the aims of the ecumenical movement, of which the World Council is the expression, as "mainly political and anti-democratic." A second resolution characterized the Vatican as a center of "international intrigue against the Slav nations" and of "international fascism," and charged it with playing an active role in "inciting a new war."

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World Council Reiterates Non-Political Nature

The World Council's general secretariat has issued a statement noting that it has carried on considerable correspondence with the Moscow patriarchate concerning the Russian church's participation at Amsterdam. "This correspondence," the statement pointed out, "was carried on in a fraternal tone and did not deal with political questions. There was nothing to indicate that the churches participating in the Moscow conference would make such a surprising judgment about the ecumenical movement. It may be useful to underline once again that the World Council is a purely ecclesiastical body, that its work and witness are exclusively based on Christian truth and Christian motives and that it refuses to be exploited for any political purposes." Among the signers of the Moscow resolution were reported to be Patriarch Alexii of the Russian church; the patriarchs of Georgia, Serbia and Rumania; the Metropolitan of Bulgaria; the representatives of the patriarchate of Alexandria and of the Russian church in Ethiopia; and the delegates of the Orthodox church in Poland and Czechoslovakia. What effect the Moscow stand will have on non-Orthodox churches in the Soviet-dominated countries, so far as their participation at Amsterdam is concerned, is not yet apparent.

• • •

Set Up World Christian Youth Organization

Thirty representatives from five international Christian youth organizations, meeting last week at Versoix, Switzerland, drafted a constitution for a World Christian Youth Commission. The commission, an outgrowth of the World Christian Youth Conferences held in Amsterdam in 1939 and in Oslo in 1947, will serve as a permanent cooperative agency for the World Alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s, the World's Y.W.C.A., the World's Student Christian Federation, the World Council of Churches and the World Council of Christian Education. The constitution, which will be submitted for approval to the parent bodies, provides for a commission meeting once a year and for the selection of representatives from each organization with the widest possible geographical and confessional representation. At least half the representatives are to be under 30 years of age. The parent organizations are to share in secretarial work, and the convener of the secretariat is to be a staff member of the World Council's youth department. The preamble to the draft constitution calls attention to "the responsibility of confronting the youth of the world with Jesus Christ and his lordship over all realms of life."

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Delegates Make Specific Recommendations

Delegates to the meeting at Versoix urged the sponsoring youth organizations to avoid overlapping of meetings and to facilitate joint use of speakers; to aid in further collaboration on a national level; to share their experiences in joint meetings with secular youth movements; to encourage the development of work camps, international teams, ecumenical education and leadership training; and to share information about movements of students and other young people among workers, displaced persons and refugees. They elected as commission chairman for the coming year Chu Wen Li of China, representing the Y.M.C.A. As vice-chairmen they named Nik Nissiotis of Greece, representing the World Council's youth department; Barbara Dietz of the U.S., representing the Y.W.C.A.; and Harry Daniel of India, representing the World's Student Christian Federation. They recommended that another World Conference of Christian Youth be held in 1952 somewhere in Asia. A decision on this proposal will be made at next year's meeting of the commission after consultation with the parent organizations.

• • •

Hilfswerk Needs Aid—And Quickly

Only large sums of money sent quickly from churches in the U.S. and Switzerland will make possible the continued operation of Hilfswerk projects in Germany now threatened with curtailment or shutdown as a result of the recent currency reform. That was the report brought back from Germany following a month's visit by Iain Wilson, secretary for that country in the World Council's department of reconstruction and interchurch aid. Capital holdings of the German Protestant relief agency, which had been built up since the war to 180,000,000 Reichsmarks, were reduced by 90 per cent in the currency change. Furthermore, the 10 per cent remaining will be released only gradually by the banks. Mr. Wilson reports that Hilfswerk staffs have had to be reduced, wages drastically cut and other economy measures instituted. As an

example, he points to the refugee settlement project at Hellsberg, where only 35 of the 195 workers can be retained. In the case of institutions, he cites the Kirchliche Hochschule in Berlin, which has a budget of 750,000 marks for the year. If this institution is to continue, two-thirds of its budget ($160,000) must be supplied from abroad.

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Hilfswerk Drives for Voluntary Tithe

Mr. Wilson estimates that the crisis period for Hilfswerk will last from six to eight months, after which the relief agency is expected to have a steady income from German sources. He lauds the initiative it showed when, anticipating the currency reform, it planned a nationwide appeal for a new collection, to be known as the "Diakonie Groschen" (diaconate dime). In this drive, each of the 30,000,000 German Protestants over 14 years of age will be asked to contribute 10 pfennigs monthly for relief. Such a system of voluntary contributions represents a move by the German churches toward independence from allocations formerly expected from the state. Mr. Wilson emphasizes, however, that despite all Hilfswerk is doing, it urgently needs the backing of the churches abroad. One of the greatest difficulties in the currency situation is that the eventual rate of exchange has not been determined, and the method of converting hard currency into the new marks is not yet known.

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Testaments Printed in Russian Zone

An edition of 300,000 New Testaments, the first to be printed in the Russian zone of Germany, is expected to leave the presses at the end of August. The edition, which is being printed in Leipzig for the Evangelische Verlagsanstalt in Berlin, the only Protestant publishing house recognized by Russian authorities, will be distributed by the Berlin Bible Society. Paper for the edition was given by the American Bible Society, and the moulds were loaned by the Beatenberg Bible School. An additional edition of 300,000 pocket Bibles is also to be printed in the Russian zone on paper given by the Swedish Bible Society, from moulds loaned by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

WILLMAR L. THORKELSON.

End Weekday Religious Plan in New Orleans

John S. Land, president of the New Orleans council of churches, has announced that the weekday religious education program it sponsors in the city's public school system is being abandoned. In view of the Supreme Court decision in the "Champaign case," the Protestant group is giving up the classes it has conducted since 1943 for fourth and fifth grade pupils. Dr. Land's announcement came after the council's executive committee had completed a study of the legality of the local classes in the light of the court's decision. "To continue this program . . . would violate not only

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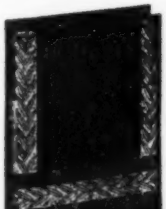

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the spirit but also the letter of this constitutional interpretation and would therefore be contrary to the firm established principle that under the Constitution there must be a clear separation of church and state," said the resolution adopted by the committee. The council's department of Christian education will seek a suitable program of religious education to replace the one discontinued.

Yale School Enrolls 175

Sixth Year of Alcohol Studies Attracts Students from Many Professions

NEW HAVEN, CONN., Aug. 4.—The sixth annual session of the Yale School of Alcohol Studies is in its final week at Silliman College, Yale University. In session since July 9, this year's school has an enrollment of 175 from all parts of the United States and from many professions. More physicians are attending than in any previous year, and one fireman and one policeman are enrolled. As in past years, the school is directed by Dr. E. M. Jellinek, professor in Yale's laboratory of applied psychology.

* * *

Reviews Yale's Contribution To Campus Religious Life

As he prepared for a year's sabbatical leave, Clarence P. Shedd, professor of Christian methods at Yale Divinity School, recently reviewed his work since 1926, during which time he has helped train some 550 students as teachers of religion, association secretaries, chaplains and campus directors of religious activities. "During the past 10 years from one-third to one-half of the national executives and traveling secretaries of the student Y.M.C.A. have been graduates of the divinity school," he said. "In addition, fully one-third of the student 'Y' secretaries in universities in all parts of the country are graduates of the institution." Dr. Shedd pointed out that more and more colleges are reaching the "big business" stage, so that their presidents, their logical spiritual leaders, cannot devote time to seeing that the religious life of the campus is cared for. "It is just this need that Yale has anticipated in providing a well-rounded curriculum for the training of campus directors of religious activities," he said. Dr. Shedd will spend his year's leave in Switzerland doing research for a history of the World Alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s, soon to celebrate its 100th year. His work at Yale will be carried on in his absence by Seymour Smith.

* * *

And So Forth

Loyd Foss Worley, pastor of the Methodist Church at Stamford, was recently named "citizen of the year" by the local citizens' award committee.

Dudley Burr, minister of South Congregational Church, East Hartford, is the Progressive party's nominee for Connecticut state treasurer.

E. RALPH WIDORG.

Sponsor Program For Rural Health

North Carolina Agencies Successful in New Educational Venture—Judge Bans Primary Oath

CHAPEL HILL, N.C., Aug. 6.—A quiet but effective campaign to improve rural health conditions in North Carolina is reported in the current issue of *Better Health*, journal of the state social hygiene society. For the past two years the state board of health and the agricultural extension service have cooperated to promote better nutrition, sanitation and housing for farm families. The agencies have worked through home demonstration and 4-H clubs, with the assistance of county health officers and farm and home agents. Marked progress has been made in educating the people to health needs and resources. The same issue of the magazine describes as "in the Grenfell tradition" the work of Dr. George F. Bond, who has led in the establishment of the Valley clinic and hospital at Bat Cave. Without the aid of federal or state funds, the people of this remote Blue Ridge mountain community contributed labor and materials to remodel an abandoned schoolhouse into a small modern health center—a significant experiment in community action for better medical care.

* * *

Orders Ban on Oath as Voting Requirement

Federal Judge J. Waties Waring has ordered that the oath prescribed by South Carolina Democratic party rules as a prerequisite to voting in primary elections be abolished. In an injunction against party officers, the jurist required that Negroes be permitted to enroll as party members, and forbade the use of any oath expressing opinion on civil rights or segregation. W. P. Baskin, chairman of the party's state executive committee, stated that the order "will be carried out fully." But a South Carolina representative in Congress has introduced a resolution calling for investigation of Judge Waring's "conduct in office," and Senator Maybank (Dem., S.C.) has announced that he has been asked to start impeachment proceedings against the jurist. Meanwhile, the *Southern Christian Advocate*, organ of South Carolina Methodists, has come out with a forthright article by J. Claude Evans, pastor at Walhalla, urging church members to act politically to redeem the situation in which the state has been placed by its present political leadership.

* * *

'Dixiecrats' Hopeful, but May Not Qualify

Gov. J. Storm Thurmond of South Carolina, named by the "Dixiecrats" in their recent convention as their candidate for President, has promised to wage a vigorous campaign, predicting that his ticket will carry most if not all of the southern states. In North Carolina, the "Dixiecrats," led for the most part by former anti-New Dealers, sought to qualify their candidates for the ballot in the general election. But as the deadline passed yesterday, it appeared doubtful that they had done so. Leaders stated that they would challenge in the courts the regulations of the state election board. It appears that the Progressive party, supporting Henry A. Wallace for President, was successful in qualifying under the board's rules for a place on the ballot.

* * *

Segregation Is Challenged

Challenges to the racial segregation pattern continue in this area. A group of 28 young whites in an American Friends Service Committee work camp at Pettis Negro Academy at Edgefield, S.C., left the community after protests by residents and urging by local officers. W. C. Chance, Negro teacher of Parmele, N.C., has filed suit for $25,000 against the Atlantic Coast Line railroad as a result of having been ejected from a train and arrested for refusing to move from a "white" car. When the incident occurred, Mr. Chance was returning from the Republican convention in Philadelphia, at which he was a delegate.

* * *

And So Forth

An 18-day seminar on "Christian Bases for Political Action," sponsored by the Methodist Board of Education, began Monday at Duke University. It is the second in an annual series dealing with the church's responsibility in the economic order, the state and the community.

North Carolina's worst infantile paralysis epidemic in history is restricting many church activities, particularly Sunday schools and youth conferences. Most vacation Bible schools had closed before restrictions were imposed. In Greensboro, where the epidemic struck first, churches combined to secure radio time and conduct an effective Bible school of the air.

A "churchmanship institute" for Congregational Christian laymen was held at Elon College July 17-18.

At its recent annual meeting in Green Lake, Wis., the Association of Northern Baptist Educational Institutions elected as president Robert P. Daniel, head of Shaw University, Raleigh, N.C. Dr. Daniel is the first Negro to hold the office.

A. J. Walton, since 1940 superintendent of town and country work for the Methodist Church, has been appointed professor of practical theology and director of field work at Duke University Divinity School. He will specialize in training students for the rural ministry.

HENRY G. RUARK.

Danish Vacationers Served by Chapels

Chapels have been erected near many of Denmark's seaside resorts for the benefit of the thousands of vacationers who visit them during the summer months.

Plan Future in Communist China

L.M.S. Missionaries, Danish Lutherans, Swedish Baptists May Continue to Work Under New Regime

NANKING, CHINA, July 26.—Missionaries in north China are considering what their future will be under what many term "inevitable Communist occupation." In Peiping, London Missionary Society personnel, acting under advice from their home board, spent a week in mid-July determining their future course. It is now regarded as possible that some of them will remain in Peiping even if the Communists take over the city. The L.M.S. has a mission hospital operating in a city under Communist control south of Tientsin, and it is reported that preaching services are still permitted there. Plans are now being worked out for special medical teams to enter other Communist-held territory. Danish Lutherans, who have 12 missionaries in Communist-dominated areas of north China, are planning to replace some personnel who have been on the field for as long as 14 years. They operate an orphanage, hospital and agricultural station in Antung. Swedish Baptists are continuing work in eastern Shantung where American missionaries have been unable to remain. Workers are unable to take much with them to their inland posts, for they must enter on foot. Chief requirement by Communist authorities seems to be that missionaries and Chinese pastors must put in a full day of useful work. Preaching and other ministerial duties are not considered in this category, but are permitted in addition to "useful labor."

* * *

Establish Interfaith Fellowship In Peiping

A group of some 20 Protestant missionaries and Catholic priests in Pieping have established an interfaith fellowship. The project began when the priests suggested a union service on a Catholic universal day of prayer. Theme of the first meeting was "What Jesus Means to Me." Members usually consider some topic of common religious concern. Most of the priests are from Europe, where some of them served in resistance movements during the war.

* * *

Warns Chinese Future Aid Depends Upon Them

Roger D. Lapham, head of the China mission of the Economic Cooperation Administration, has warned the Chinese government over the Army Advisory Group radio that future aid grants from the U.S. will depend upon what the Chinese do to help themselves. "There is belief, confirmed by many sources, that the Chinese farmers in effect subsidize the big cities, that there are many in those cities who could afford to pay more than they do in meeting their country's expenditures." One reporter commented that these facts have long been pointed out to Chinese officials "who, to quote General Marshall, agree politely and do nothing." Meanwhile, China's strained economic situation is threatened with greater disaster in the Yangtse valley "rice bowl," where complete inundation is imminent.

* * *

Student Work Camp Serves Chinese Community

At Tung Hsien, near Pieping, 11 men and 7 women students from six universities are participating in an eight-week work camp in an effort to make a "total Christian approach to the needs of the Chinese rural community." Cooperating in sponsoring the work are the North China Christian Rural Service Union and the Committee on Evangelism in Government Universities. The first three weeks of the period were spent in studying five rural communities and methods to be employed in the fields of health, education, family work, agricultural extension and evangelism. The remainder of the time is to be devoted to actual service. Work projects already accomplished or under way include D.D.T.-ing village homes and the construction of a playground adjacent to a school. Students are paying half of their expenses, with several of them supported by contri-

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butions from fellow students in the university Christian fellowship.

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Sponsor Worship Service For University Groups

A "university worship service" has been organized in Peiping this year, sponsored by the major denominations in the city, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. Held each Sunday evening in Peiping Union Church with an average attendance of 60, the service is designed to meet the religious needs of students and other educated Chinese, at the same time establishing better relationships with the local churches. An advisory committee appointed by the churches determines policies, and a standing committee of representatives from six institutions—Pei Ta, National Normal, Fu Jen (Catholic), Chao Yang, I Chuan and Peking Union Medical College Nursing School—is responsible for the actual services. Chao Fu-sen and Frank Cooley, Y.M.C.A. student work secretaries, serve as acting pastors.

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And So Forth

On July 19 eight American and ten British Protestant missionaries were airlifted to safety by Maj. Gen. Claire L. Chennault's civil air transport from Taiyuan, next important nationalist stronghold to be placed under Communist siege after the fall of Kaifeng.

Seven Protestant groups in Ningpo have begun a six-day-a-week religious radio program. It was made possible by a gift from an elderly Christian Chinese woman.

Assistant Dean Hollin Caswell of Teachers College, Columbia University, has arrived in China to make a survey of Christian education.

Y.M.- and Y.W.-directed relief work in China's cities this summer is providing work for at least 1,600 students.

HERBERT L. MINARD.

Danes Aid Printing Of German Bibles

The Danish Bible Society has made a grant of $20,000 for the printing of Bibles in Germany.

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Again Support Federal Council

United Presbyterian Assembly Gives Its Official O.K.—Pave the Way for Union with Reformed Church

PITTSBURGH, July 26.—The United Presbyterian Church has returned to official support of the Federal Council of Churches after a year in which contributions by congregations to the council have been voluntary only. The church's 90th General Assembly, meeting at Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa., approved a budget appropriation of one cent per member for the Federal Council. The assembly also approved the plan for merger of the national interdenominational agencies into the proposed new National Council of Churches. It paved the way for denominational merger with the Reformed Church in America by endorsing the Principle of Union and submitting it to the presbyteries. Union may be consummated by 1950. A four-year program of evangelism to be known as the United Evangelistic Crusade will seek 90,000 new members to bring the over-all membership to 235,000 within the quadrennium. The benevolence budget for the current year was set at $1,000,000. The assembly refused to liberalize its attitude on divorce, which now permits remarriage only on grounds of adultery. The new moderator is Albert H. Baldinger, who recently retired as professor of homiletics at Pittsburgh—Xenia Theological Seminary. He succeeeds Samuel A. Fulton, automobile equipment manufacturer of West Allis, Wis.

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Sunday Fair To Go On

Overruling protests by 35 representatives of the presbytery of Pittsburgh, the Sabbath association, the Methodist ministers' association, the W.C.T.U. and other organizations, the Allegheny county board of commissioners has announced that the annual county fair will proceed as scheduled on Sunday, Sept. 5. Exhibits will remain closed until 2 p.m., and the program will be modified to include memorial services under religious leadership. Admitting in a public hearing that the Sunday fair is in violation of Pennsylvania's ancient "blue laws," the commissioners have intimated that the Sabbath program will be discontinued in 1949. Labor councils representing both the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. had appeared in behalf of the Sunday exhibits.

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Weekday Schools Given State Approval

The so-called "released time" plan of religious training is legal in Pennsylvania if held outside public school buildings, Attorney General T. McKeen Chidsey ruled last week. At the same time he advised Francis B. Haas, superintendent of public instruction, that the ultimate decision as to the constitutionality of a particular program rests with local authorities. In a further opinion Stanley C. Fellows, legal adviser to the department of public instruction, stated that most school districts would be able to continue their programs without change except where classes are conducted on school property. "Dismissed time" is banned because of a state provision fixing the school day from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. Teachers are required to continue the reading, without comment, of 10 verses from the Bible each day. Religious history, "taught objectively and not for the purpose of propagating particular religious doctrines or beliefs," may be included in a general course conducted by a public school teacher.

• • •

Zionists Urge 'Hands-off' Policy on Israel

At the 51st convention of the Zionist Organization of America here early this month, American Zionists were urged to follow a "strict policy of non-intervention" in the political affairs of the infant state of Israel. Chief advocates of this policy were Emanuel Neumann, who was re-elected president of the organization, and Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Dr. Neumann defined world Zionism now as an "association of friends" rather than a political movement. Dr. Silver, assailing the Bernadotte proposals to enthrone King Abdullah in Jerusalem and opposing British influence in settlement of the problems of Palestine, asserted that Jews will not accept further partition nor Arab rule in Jerusalem. Both speakers expressed hope of a settlement through United Nations mediation. Mortimer May of Nashville, Tenn., member of the World Zionists Action Committee, charged American Jewry with specific weaknesses: race suicide, intermarriage, casting aside of traditional observances and failure to keep informed on things that relate to its past, present and future. The convention was attended by 2,000 delegates from all parts of the country and Hawaii.

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And So Forth

Approximately 100 Pennsylvania Presbyterian ministers attended the recent sixth annual school of religion at Western Theological Seminary. Lecturers were Harris Kirk of Baltimore, Willard Brewing of Toronto, David E. Culley of Western Seminary, John Baillie of Edinburgh and George A. Frantz of Indianapolis.

Union Sunday evening services in many sections of the city are reporting fine attendance. The Carnegie Music Hall series, sponsored by Oakland and East End churches, has scheduled as speakers Charles R. Bell, Jr., Bishop John S. Stamm, Oscar F. Blackwelder, Roy L. Smith, Raymond I. Lindquist, Joseph R. Sizoo, Albert G. Butzer and Paul Wolfe.

Death has taken J. Murdoch French, 41, assistant editor-manager of the *United Presbyterian*, and William H.

Hanna, 76, who retired recently after serving more than 25 years as pastor of Knoxville Christian Church.

Vernon P. Martin, Jr., formerly director of the Westminster Foundation at the University of Cincinnati, has assumed his duties as minister of Second Presbyterian Church, Wilkinsburg.

Erwin G. Tieman, organizer and for 19 years pastor of Mt. Calvary Lutheran Church, West View, has accepted a call to Trinity Lutheran Church, Milwaukee.

O. M. WALTON.

Sponsor 'Youth Week'

Interfaith Venture in Lake Charles, La., Stresses Religious Devotion

LAKE CHARLES, LA., Aug. 2.—In this city's seventh "youth week" July 19-23, young people of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths carried out an intensive religious emphasis program. The annual event, sponsored by the local Y.M.C.A. and the interchurch youth council, follows three months of careful preparation. While adult leadership is sought each year, all decisions are made in joint conferences, most of them by the young people themselves. The local library cooperates by arranging a shelf of recent books of interest and value to youth.

Theme for this year's emphasis was "Youth at the Crossroad." It was carried out in assemblies at which featured addresses were followed by fellowship and discussion groups. For consideration of "What Is My Faith?" a Protestant, a Catholic and a Jewish layman presented their views. Lecturers at the assemblies were John W. Rustin of Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church, Washington, D.C.; R. E. Goodrich of First Methodist Church, Dallas; Sam H. Jones, former governor of Louisiana; and local pastors and chaplains as well as educators and other laymen. The closing assembly featured a dramatic worship service presented by youth committees of the various churches.

MARSHALL S. BURNS.

The Church Roll

Alice L. Goddard, from 1940 to 1946 director of religious education for the Detroit council of churches, has been named director of children's work for the International Council of Religious Education, with headquarters in Chicago.

After 25 years as president of the American University in Beirut, Lebanon, Bayard Dodge is retiring. He will make his home in Princeton, N.J., and teach a course in Arab history at Columbia University.

Albert G. Watson, for the past four years executive secretary of the Canadian Fellowship of Reconciliation, has succeeded Emerson Schwenk as midwest secretary of the fellowship, with headquarters in Chicago.

Harry V. Richardson, for 15 years chaplain at Tuskegee Institute, has been named president of Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta. He succeeds J. W. Haywood, who has joined the staff of the Methodist Commission on World Peace.

Carl E. Lund-Quist, secretary of the National Lutheran Council's division of public relations, and Wilfred Tappert, pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Mount Vernon, N.Y., are visiting Lutheran churches in Brazil, Argentina and Chile as representatives of the U.S. committee for the Lutheran World Federation.

Dwight W. Culver, author of recent articles in The Christian Century on segregation in the Methodist Church and professor of sociology at Purdue University, received the Ph. D. degree from Yale in June. His thesis, in the field of social ethics, was on the subject dealt with in his articles.

Carroll A. Wise, minister of counseling at Hennepin Avenue Methodist Church, Minneapolis, has been appointed professor of pastoral psychology and counseling at Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

P. O. Bersell, president of the U. S. Augustana Synod, has been made a doctor of theology by the University of Uppsala, Sweden.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M—Mature. Y—Younger. C—Children.

Big City (MGM) Lotte Lehmann, George Murphy, Margaret O'Brien, Danny Thomas. *Drama.* Protestant minister, Jewish rabbi, Catholic cop jointly adopt abandoned infant. Ten years later they quarrel when the cop, first to marry, demands sole custody, discover they have much to learn about understanding, tolerance. Despite set-up, racial or religious tolerance is not involved. *Means well,* has likable people and songs, but seldom rises above the average, often verges on maudlin. M.Y.

Dream Girl (Par.) *Comedy.* Girl takes refuge in day dreams in which she is beautiful, famous, adored. Subtlety of stage play on which film is based is replaced by *burlesque,* everyday setting by "Hollywood millionaire" trappings. Sometimes funny, never discerning. M.

Melody Time (RKO) *Cartoon.* Seven Disney fantasies in an hour-long production. Done, for the most part, with more lightness of touch, *inventiveness,* than recent Disney films. Good humored, imaginative. M.Y.C.

Thunder in the Valley (Fox) Edmund Gwenn, Lon McCallister. *Drama* based on novel, *Bob, Son of Battle*: rivalry between churlish Scot father and his sensitive son, between two dogs for the annual sheep herding championship. Technicolored, with lush Idaho setting doubling for Scotland, film is meandering, self-conscious as to story and performance, *thrilling in its best sequences*: the sheep dog trials, and the search for the dog that has been preying on the flocks. M.Y.C.

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Deep Waters, Fighting Father Dunne, Give My Regards to Broadway, Green Grass of Wyoming, I Remember Mama, Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House, The Overlanders, The Search.

For Mature Audience: All My Sons, Another Part of the Forest, Call Northside 777, Captain Boycott, Four Faces West, Frieda, The Fugitive, Gentlemen's Agreement, Great Expectations, I Know Where I'm Going, My Girl Tisa, The Senator Was Indiscreet, Shoe-Shine, So Well Remembered, Song of Love, State of the Union, The Treasure of the Sierra Madre. 8-25-48

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